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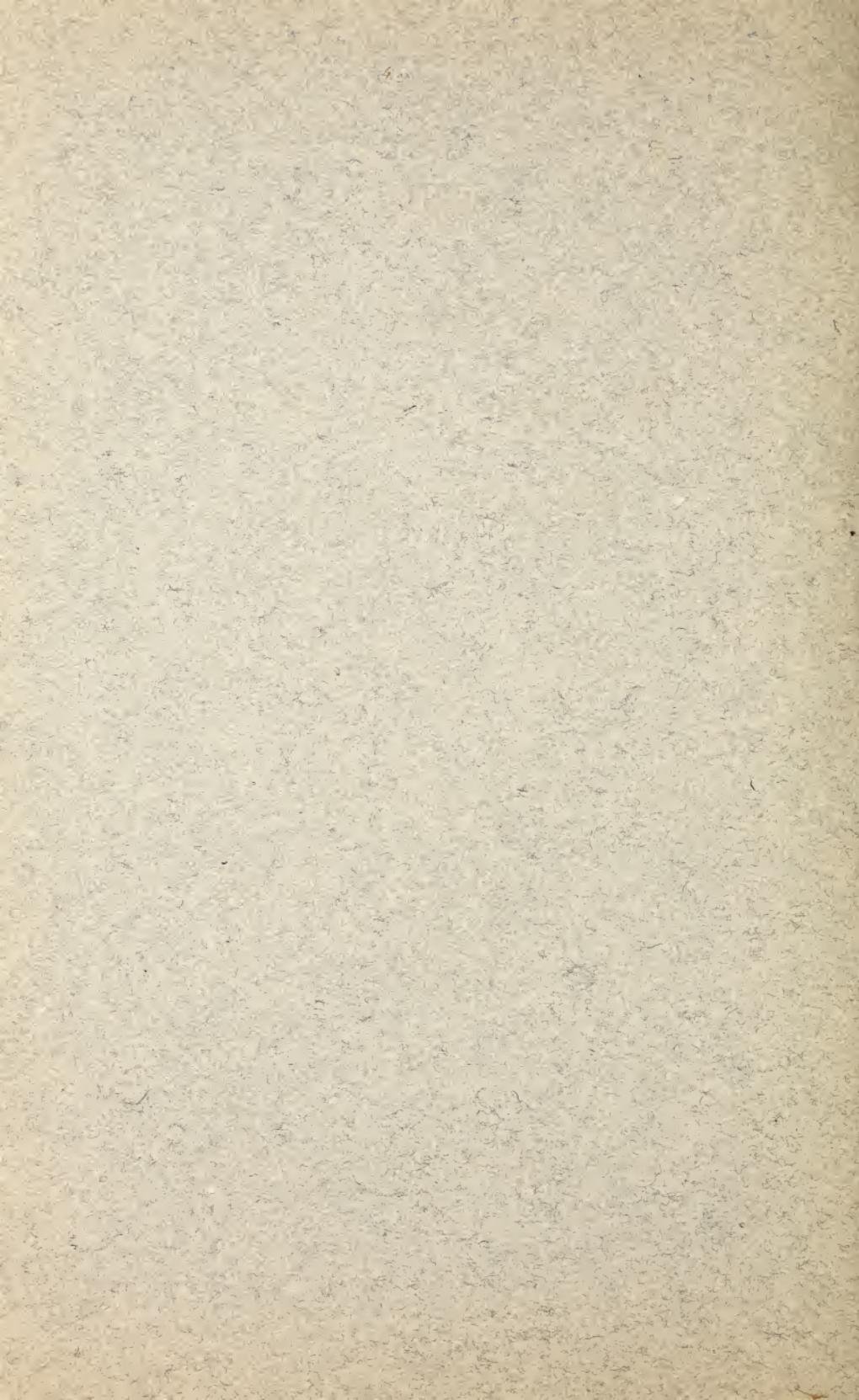
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CISES, JUNE 8-12, 1913

SAMUEL BLACK McCORMICK, LL. D.
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

AND

GAILLARD HUNT, LL. D.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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THE NATION'S CHALLENGE TO THE COLLEGE MAN

Address of Samuel Black McCormick at the Commencement of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, June 11th, 1913.

Mr. President, Members of the Graduating Class, Students, and Friends of the College of William and Mary:

I count it a rare privilege to visit William and Mary College, and to address you on this annual occasion. The transition of a native Pittsburgher, whose lifelong surroundings have been mills, manufactories, and mines, to the quiet academic shades of William and Mary is as startling as it is enjoyable. For the first time, I look upon scenes familiar in reading from childhood. No portion of our country lays hold more vividly upon the imagination of American youth than the State of Virginia, and no part of Virginia more than this quaint, historic town of Williamsburg, which witnessed so much of the early life of the nation and which has been rendered forever sacred in poem and in story.

To visit this ancient college, the second oldest in America, and to participate even for a day in its life, is indeed a privilege. To be a student in it, or to be permanently connected with it as a member of its faculty, is a still greater privilege, and one which only a relatively few may enjoy. Most Americans interested in the early history of their country are familiar with the heroism and sacrifice of those who guided the early destiny of this college, and know its splendid service and its illustrious record; and all rejoice today in its manifest prosperity and in its most hopeful outlook for the future.

A few weeks ago I was present at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington at the exercises in connection with the unveiling of the tablet in honor of Professor Langley. On that occasion the French ambassador, in his address accepting the medal bestowed upon Monsieur Eiffel, referred to an incident which

took place a little after the surrender at Yorktown, and just before the departure to France of Count Rochambeau. On that occasion the College of William and Mary presented an address to Count Rochambeau, in which the hope was expressed that between the two nations, France and America, eternal peace should prevail, and that a free exchange of professors, ideas, and inventions should be had for all time. Every American is proud that from that day to this good will between these two nations has continued; but it is a notable thing that the author of this address, who was doubtless the president of William and Mary, should have been able to look forward one hundred and twenty-five years and predict that which is taking place only in our own time, in the free exchange of the intellectual possessions of the two nations. This is but a single illustration of the kind of men who have directed the affairs of William and Mary. Throughout her entire history, in good times and in evil times, she has stood for high things and originated ideas which have abundantly blessed the people.

It is not always easy to transplant oneself from the busy activities of today into the Virginia of the eighteenth century. The man who is even the least endowed with imagination can, however, realize the tremendous influence of a college which produced four signers of the Declaration of Independence; a Jefferson, a Monroe, a Tyler among our presidents; a Marshall among our chief justices; fifteen governors of Virginia; and other men almost without number who have rendered mighty service in behalf of state and nation. Such a record stands by itself, and to be a part of such an institution is to share in its glory and to participate in the splendor of its achievements.

The college man himself stands upon the summit of opportunity and responsibility. The undergraduate may well reflect upon the fact that of the one hundred who started with him in the grade school, he alone is left. The ninety and nine who, one by one, dropped by the way, are bearing their burden of toil and shouldering their load of responsibility in the places wherein they serve. The college man, by reason of his superior opportunities, owes to those who started with him service and

inspiration, and to society the entire consecration of his talents and his powers.

It is therefore a high privilege to be a college man in any institution of learning in America; a nobler privilege still to be a college student in the second oldest college and in the very first settlement in America, a sharer in all the splendor of that historic past; but it is not enough to be a college student anywhere, in any surroundings, unless there be corresponding realization of what is involved in that high privilege. The college man of today stands on trial. He must demonstrate that he is worth the price that is paid for him. The nation to which he belongs challenges his right to receive, unless there be in him a corresponding willingness to give. Today no man has the right to live for himself. Extending out from him are myriad relationships which he must recognize, and with which he must be consciously in correspondence if he is by any possibility to fulfil his individual mission. Loyalty no longer consists in meeting the ordinary responsibilities of citizenship, or even in manifesting willingness to surrender life in a time of national peril. Citizenship has, like all life itself, become exceedingly complex; and the man can be the right kind of citizen only as he realizes that every thought and every act of his life must bear a conscious relation to society and to the well-being of the people. The college man, therefore, must not only listen to the nation's challenge, but must send back a ringing acceptance of the high and holy service to which he is called.

America is still in process. The elements entering into the making of the nation are in a condition of flux and it doth not yet appear what it shall be. The glory of America is that, alongside of the ceaseless activity in laying the foundations of the nation, in overcoming the stubborn resistance of nature, in developing the resources of wealth and power, there has been from the very beginning, an equally tremendous activity in creating the American citizen, in establishing American institutions and in fashioning American ideals. As one contemplates the conditions surrounding the early settler at Jamestown and on the bleak shore of New England and attempts to realize the magnitude of the task involved in making the America

of today, he gets a little conception of the wonderful things the nation has dreamed and the wonderful things the nation has achieved. The peoples of Europe in the early days of the republic were sifted for the finest grain with which to plant the new land in the West. That sowing has produced a harvest as splendid in quality as it has become remarkable in its greatness. To face nature two centuries ago with all its forbidding wildness and its ferocious inhospitality, and to conceive the possibility of subjugating the land, was beyond the ability of either statesman or prophet. To accomplish this gigantic undertaking in so brief a period so that on the Pacific coast and in the regions between, even upon the American desert itself, there is a great and intelligent citizenship, is as marvelous in retrospect as it was impossible of conception at the outset. A people whose ideal from the first has been liberty, manhood, citizenship; building for his comfort the home; planting beside it the school; establishing in connection with both the church; and raising over all a flag that stands for national unity and national character is a people capable of accomplishing any task, even that of creating a new civilization and a new democracy. This the American people have done. In spite of the oft-repeated assertion of the great statesman of three-quarters of a century ago that the plains of the middle west were barren and fruitless, and that the Rocky Mountains stood as an impassable barrier to progress, the whole land has now been possessed and the America of Massachusetts and South Carolina has become equally the America of Washington and California.

It is not strange that the very contemplation of so marvelous an accomplishment should intoxicate the people and that they should proclaim to all the world that in comparison with other peoples and with other states, the American people is the greatest and the American state the most splendid that has ever been brought into being by the genius of man. Oratory so inspired is oratory almost justified. Yet America is in process. Its institutions are yet to be tested. The quality of its manhood is yet to be put into comparison with that of other nations. Its citizenship is yet to prove its superiority over others. The liberty of the American people is yet on trial and will be found

to be best only as it affords the individual opportunity to realize the fulness of his possibilities. Its social system is yet to demonstrate its capacity to provide for the social needs of the nation. Even representative government itself is put upon the defensive and must once more prove its superiority over a pure democracy. Only when these are fully demonstrated and have become indisputably achieved will it be possible to claim for America leadership among the peoples of the earth.

Therefore it is that the thing of chief concern is the program of the future. The past is prelude. Realization is still future. In spite of the intellectual and moral qualities which have entered into the physical mastery of the land and in spite of the still higher intellectual and moral qualities which have produced the institutions of the land, it is obvious that much is owed to the marvelous mineral resources and to the no less marvelous extent and fertility of the soil. If enterprise has led the individual from the east to the west, and from west to the far west, once again to repeat the story of hardship, toil, and conquest, it is nevertheless true that in response to such hardship, enterprise, and toil, nature has poured out her wealth exhaustlessly and has contributed immensely to personal and national greatness. All this, however, is changed. The land of America is now occupied. Nature no longer stands with open hands offering her wealth to the first man who comes to claim it. Conservation, not prodigality, is henceforth the watchword from Canada to the Gulf. From this time on Nature will be reluctant, shy, elusive, and will give up the secret of her wealth only to him who, trained in the school, knows what he seeks and how to find it. The problems are the problems of a thickly populated country and the people must demonstrate their ability to solve them. They must prove the quality of their liberty not by the fact that it gives largest freedom of individual action, but by the fact that it knows how to obey law and, in a complex civilization, knows also how to develop a fine type of individual and national character. The citizenship of America will be best when it has fully demonstrated both its intelligence and its patriotism; when it has manifested more concern to bear responsibility than to secure its rights; when it has become more ardent

in looking out for the public weal than in gaining individual benefits; and when it has proclaimed to all the world its ability to produce a democracy high-minded, generous, patriotic and capable of self-government. The social system of America will be acknowledged to be best when it has been perfected into a system which makes possible the most happiness and the largest opportunity; when it has eliminated injustice and oppression; when it has destroyed ignorance and disease; when it has made poverty and inefficiency unknown; and when it places upon the brow of manhood the crown of imperishable worth. Not in some other land nor upon some other continent where the sunshine is brighter, where the soil is richer, where intelligence is finer, where liberty is greater, where the conception of right, truth and justice is more perfect—not there, but here in America, the problems must be worked out, and demonstration made of the ability of a free people to fashion a civilization and the institutions thereof finer than any the world has ever known. Unless America do this she proclaims her failure to solve the problem of humanity—the most colossal failure in the history of the nations.

The problems of manhood, of government, of liberty, of citizenship, of social order, of service, of the conquest of creation—this is the program of the nation. Here in this land, dedicated to the cause of mankind and already far on into three centuries of more or less intelligent effort toward the creation of a true democracy, is to be demonstrated the power of a free people to fashion an enduring civilization, the most perfect the world has ever known. It would be impossible, perhaps, to find any one man who has formed a perfect conception of the America which is to be. Yet in the composite consciousness of the people there does lie the conception of the true spirit and ideal of the nation, instinctive, definite, and invincible. The nation is to press on guided by this conception and inspired by this ideal until in the days to come America will stand forth as the leader of the nations, highest of all because the servant of all.

In this situation the nation makes a tremendous appeal for help. Sharp, clear, insistent, imperative, she speaks to every college man. He must hear and he must respond. "Long I

fought the battle of contending and conflicting colonies and after seven years of cruel war, ending in Yorktown, I threw off the yoke of bondage and emerged a union of sovereign states. Through long years I watched these states grow and flourish; I saw the problems of the Constitution settled one by one; but as the decades came and passed it became clear that only through the arbitrament of a frightful and fratricidal war, during which, for four weary years, I poured out the treasure and the life of my people, was it possible to demonstrate to my people and to the world that I had in truth become a sovereign nation. I then turned my eyes across the seas and I beheld peoples oppressed, and their cry was to me and for help; and I proved my right to stand among the great nations of earth by being at once willing and able to give freedom and hope and exact nothing in return. Now when it would seem that I might rest at ease and concern myself no more with danger from without or peril from within, I look, and behold, my problems are yet unsolved; my work is just begun; even my government is under trial and its very life, dependent as it is upon the intelligence and capacity for self-control on the part of the people, must gather new vitality and new power if it is to perpetuate." Thus speaks the Nation. Her cry is not one of distress, for the issue is not doubtful; but it is a challenge to manhood, to patriotism, to the finest and most unselfish consecration, especially on the part of those whose peculiar privileges have been transmuted into efficiency and power.

What are these problems which the nation must solve, and which the nation can solve only as the college man cares for his country and dedicates himself to her service? Impossible to enumerate them, it is possible to indicate their character, and thereby show how vitally they concern the destiny of America.

Fundamental to the very existence of government, and even to liberty itself, is the judiciary, whose function it is to interpret law and secure for the people even-handed justice. More vital, perhaps, to the welfare of the people than even the executive and the legislative is the law-interpreting and law-enforcing agency of government. Like the Ark of the Covenant it must not be touched by the rude hand of man nor made subject to

the passion, the changing sentiment, the ephemeral opinion of the populace. It is a sacred thing and must not be torn from its high place. Today the American people are confronted, not with the relatively simple problem of remedying certain faults in it, but with the tremendously vital question as to whether or not an independent judiciary shall continue to guard the liberties of the people.

The economic problem of America has so many sides to it, is so inexhaustibly complex, affects so vitally so many different interests, that its successful solution demands an application of brain and benevolence, mingled together in most generous proportions. The question of the tariff, as important today as it was fifty years ago; the question of a monetary system, to replace the antiquated one now in operation; the question of taxation in all its forms—a question least studied, least understood, applied with least wisdom, and least justice, of any of our great economic problems; the question of concentration of wealth and the possible exercise of legislative limitation without hurt to proper ambition, and related to this the matter of incomes and inheritances in relation to the burdens of government; the question of the wage system as over against any scheme of voluntary co-operation; the question of gold in relation to prices and prosperity; the question of production and the just distribution of the profits thereof so as to make for the largest happiness and well-being upon the part of all the people—these are some of the phases of the great economic problem confronting the American people, each vitally affecting not alone their economic, but their social progress as well.

The political problem is not second to either of the others, and presents itself in a myriad of forms, each demanding thought and each compelling attention. It is not alone the fundamental question of efficiency and economy in government. It is in politics, rather than in economics, that the American people have seemed to make greatest progress, and to have achieved most signal triumphs. We remember with a thrill of patriotic fervor the great men of the past, with their splendid oratory, their lofty ambition, and their high service to the republic. We have thought that if any problem of the nation was nearly

solved, it was the problem of politics; and yet confronting us today is the matter of direct nominations by the people; the problem of the short ballot; the problem, just now determined, of the direct election of United States senators by the people; the problem of the term and tenure of the president of our country; the problem of nominating presidential candidates by popular primary; the problem of equal suffrage on the part of men and women alike; the problem of the recall of public officials, executive and legislative; the problem of proportional representation; the problem, only now coming to the front, of legislation through commissions appointed by state and federal authority; the problem, not yet settled, after one hundred and twenty-five years of continued discussion, of the relation between the state and the federal government; that great and vital problem of the constitution itself, state and national, what it shall be or whether it shall be at all; and that still greater and more vital problem of direct legislation, the initiative and referendum, a question which demands on the part of the people the answer as to whether or not representative government shall abide or pass over into a pure democracy.

Fifty years ago corporations played relatively a little part in the business world. Today they have become an economic necessity. This has laid upon government the necessity of devising methods of control. This problem is still, for the most part, unsolved. The growth has been so rapid and the condition has emerged so quickly that it is easy to understand the unpreparedness of the government to meet the situation. Proper governmental regulation and control of dominant industrial corporations is one of the great problems of the hour. Along with this is the question of co-operation as over against competition as a social and industrial principle. The questions now pressing upon our legislatures, involved in the corporate life of the nation, such as employers' liability, workmen's compensation and insurance, occupational diseases, so-called, are scarcely less fundamental than the relation between capital and labor and the efficiency and economy of production itself. It is not at all strange that the men who have put into the problem of production every ounce of brain power they possessed should

have solved only a part of the stupendous problem involved in the proper distribution of profits. Underneath the surface of society is a great restlessness, which in some form touches every citizen of the nation. The feeling prevails that injustice lurks somewhere. Where is it and what is its remedy?

Is it not natural that in this situation should arise schemes of co-operation, claimed by their adherents to be superior to the present form of capitalism. Socialism means much or little, according to the conception individuals have of the term. That it means a tremendous thing to an increasing body of citizens is quite clear, and it is equally clear that this fact lays upon the intelligence of the nation the obligation to give the claims such study and sympathy as will result in the solution of the problem. The whole subject involves social well being, and social well-being is the constructive aim of those who are seeking to better the conditions of mankind. Underlying it all is the fundamental necessity of toil. Doubtless they are right who believe that its final settlement will be the splendid and triumphal achievement of industrial democracy. In this progress it must touch the question of child labor; it must conserve womanhood, the more as she becomes a larger factor in world affairs; it must determine the question of the production and distribution of alcohol; it must study the problem of a better race of men and women than exists today; it must solve the problem of human health, not in one or two communities, not in a state or two, but in the nation; it must provide for the period of lessened productivity and for the years of extreme age; it must intelligently study and ultimately solve the problem of the criminal class with a view to its extinction; it must somehow, with justice both to employer and employee, regulate wages, hours, and conditions of employment; it must study the problem of public charity in its relation to pauperism, eliminating poverty by solving the problem of inefficiency. All these and a multitude of other problems, most of which are still new to present-day thought, are problems which the nation must solve, and which it can solve only by the intelligent co-operation of her citizens.

I have not touched upon the problem of the municipality, whose history reflects least credit upon the American people;

upon the problem of internal improvements, which concerns not alone conservation of natural resources, but the development and regulation of national waterways, and the construction of good roads, both essential to proper rural conditions and to the right diffusion of population; upon the forestry problem, the flood problem, the reservoir problem, no longer local questions affecting relatively small communities, but as absolutely national as is the tariff itself; upon the question of government ownership and control of public utilities—not the postal service only, with its almost limitless extensions, but also the telegraph, the telephone, the railroad, and other public service corporations, whose operations are inextricably mingled with social well-being; upon the problem of education—not alone the public schools, in their relation to social, political, industrial, and moral training—but the higher institutions of learning, which have come to render a service to government without which government cannot possibly fulfil its functions; upon the problem of the power and function of the Press in relation to social progress; and most of all upon the problem of international relations, involving international arbitration, possible disarmament, and the ultimate elimination of war, involving also the treatment of immigrant people and devising peaceful and helpful methods whereby they may be absorbed into the national life and become an integral part of our body politic.

Such is America's problem—appalling, colossal, titanic—impossible except there be a citizenship intelligent enough, patriotic enough, and consecrated enough to assume the high task of its successful solution. Far visioned men have seen what was coming. Some have prophesied disaster; others a glorious triumph. Whatever the magnitude of undertaking, for the sake of America and for the sake of the world, it must be completed. Idle even to dream of it except as the college man recognize that the task is his and that the Nation must enlist him in its service.

The demand is for *manhood*. The fundamental need of the state is *men*. Whatever else the college turns out as its product, unless it turn out character it fails to provide for the Nation's need. Nation building is an ethical process. Truth is its

foundation. Justice and Equity are its superstructure. Only men who love and reverence these qualities can serve the state. The Youth of America must know that they have only one thing to fear supremely, and that this one thing is falsehood; and that there is just one thing to love supremely, and that this one thing is truth. No scholarship is possible without it; no character is sound without it; no citizenship is just without it; no social organism can endure without it. It is a living power. It breeds courage. It stiffens conscience. It begets kindness. It casts out selfishness. It inspires heroism. It matures into holiness and by its own living energy it is transmuted into character.

The demand is for manhood trained to *think*. A monarchy has power, an aristocracy has wisdom, a democracy has goodness of intention. Blackstone was accustomed to felicitate England upon a combination of the three in the King, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. So America in her representative government. Whatever confidence we have in the ultimate triumph of democracy, we know that wisdom does not always dwell with the multitude. The people suffer wrong. There is no doubt of this—economic wrong, social wrong, political wrong. It is the impulse of imperfect humanity to strike the oppressor, even though in so doing destruction follows the blow. Remedies are often suggested for wrong which destroy not the wrong only but the institution in which the wrong adheres. Hence the need of thinking men, college trained men, leaders of the people who will guide the destinies of the nation along the middle way of safety and justice. The most intelligent people require such men to direct and inspire. Never so tremendously as now, in the presence of the multitude of great problems, has America needed the college man as prophet and savior.

The demand is for *efficiency*. In its real sense this does not differ much from thinking power. By it I mean the maker, the creator of new things out of old. He is the man who knows how to adapt conditions to the new social consciousness of the people; who understands that preventable evils are to be prevented and how to do it; who comprehends the fact that the conquest of nature has only begun and that the forces thereof

must be controlled and brought into subjection; who has ceased to believe that there is some indefinable charm in knowledge which cannot be put to work, in culture which is not made to serve, in discipline which is never tested by its power to meet an emergency, but who on the other hand knows that the man is in the world for the purpose of doing the world's work and that it is his primary function to equip himself to do it.

Herein is the heart of the Nation's problem, its need of creative power on the part of its citizenship. If the institutions of the country are to be established, its material affairs to be effectively conducted, its problems to be satisfactorily solved, its social well-being permanently secured, it can be only as there are men who measure up to the demands of the hour and are capable of doing the big things required of them. In creative power is man likest to God. To take facts and combine them into a new product; to draw out of the laboratory of his mind the bridge that spans the stream; the machinery which produces the armor plate; the book that marks an epoch in literature; the idea which transforms an industry; the dream which clothes itself in a realization so splendid as to glorify the age in which he lives—this is efficiency, and efficiency is creative power, and creative power is man's crown of glory.

The Nation, then, must have *manhood*—the kind which cares for the people and is willing to consecrate itself to their cause; *intellect*, the kind which considers, dreams, plans, and hopes; *efficiency*, the kind which creates and brings to pass what has been thought and dreamed. The college must produce it and the college man must offer himself the finished product ready for service and for his country's need. For the building up a better and a stronger manhood; constructing a more perfect social and economic system; evolving a more efficient and benevolent political organization; creating new capacity in exhausted soil; replacing stretches of naked hillside with new timber growth; building up great systems of transportation for the comfort and necessities of mankind; safeguarding the physical and moral health of the people by the elimination of disease and moral evil; making America a people whose righteousness exalteth the nation and whose God is the Lord Jehovah of hosts—

the Nation calls the college man, and to this high service it is his exalted privilege and imperative duty to dedicate himself in the holy of holies of his sovereign being.

HISTORY AND THE MAN

Address of Gaillard Hunt at the Commencement Exercises June 12th, 1913,
upon receiving the Diploma of LL. D.

Seventy years ago Matthew Fontaine Maury of Virginia announced his conclusions concerning the course of the Gulf Stream, the currents and atmosphere of the ocean and the theory of great circle sailing. He charted the sea and showed the direction of the tides and prevailing winds and marked out the lanes of travel where navigation is safe and expeditious. He showed that the movements are on the surface and that in the depths below the waters are still. He laid down the general laws which govern the flow of the sea and a new science was born.

I think that in many respects the study of the ceaseless movements of the human race is like the study of the physical geography of the sea. The changes are on the surface, beneath which lies the heart of man, which has not changed since the beginning of the world. The progress is in broad currents and is governed by general laws which have not yet been discovered. The currents flow in great arcs and often describe full circles. There are lanes where travel is safe, regions of continual calm and others of continual storm; there are gentle trades and furious tornadoes. Perhaps some day the historian will appear who will do for historical science what Maury did for the sea; will chart the human winds and currents and tell us the great laws by which they come and go.

I intend to attempt no such epoch-marking accomplishment, but I shall ask you to consider one notable movement in the modern world and I shall suggest its causes. I shall speak superficially and I shall only suggest. I shall draw an outline study; not even a sketch; much less a finished picture.

II.

Unquestionably, the most notable phenomenon in modern history is the steady setting of the current in the affairs of men away from the power of the man towards the power of the group, the mass, the people. Tennyson spoke of it in one form in Locksley Hall:

“And the individual withers,
And the world is more and more;”

and Elihu Root said it in another form in a speech which he delivered before a Latin-American audience when he was Secretary of State:

“Yet no student of our times can fail to see that not America alone but the whole civilized world is swinging away from its old governmental moorings and intrusting the fate of its civilization to the capacity of the popular mass to govern. By this pathway mankind is to travel, whithersoever it leads. Upon the success of this our undertaking the hope of humanity depends.”

Loyalty to the State, he said, has taken the place of loyalty to the sovereign, and patriotism has become devotion to “that abstract conception—one’s country”—instead of the personal devotion to a sovereign which has “so illumined the pages of history.”

Our inquiry is directed to the question of when and why this change came about.

The beginning of the state is the family. The earliest record of mankind shows that by the Hebrew law the parent was supreme in the household and the state was an aggregation of families, not of individuals. The family group enlarged and became the gens or house; then it became the tribe. The bond that bound people was the bond of kinship. Homer gives us a description of it when he tells of Priam’s mansion; how it was fifty chambers high, where dwelt Priam’s sons and their wives and his daughters and their husbands, and Priam was lord over them all. This patriarchal principle still survived when the civilization of Greece arose and the people of Athens were divided into ten tribes. From the Greek polity the Romans drew their

inspiration. The seat of their dominion was a city; the tie which bound them was the tie of common origin. Reducing the ancient and accepted custom to scientific form they gave us the doctrine of citizenship which still dominates in most states and exists in all—the law of citizenship by descent, by kinship, by blood—the *jus sanguinis* of the civil law.

The citizenship of the Romans was not territorial, but that of their barbaric conquerors was even more personal. The Goths, Franks, Vandals, Visigoths, Lombards and Burgundians were nomad hordes, patriarchal groups, and their kings were always kings over the people and not over the land.

In the course of time the tribes became too populous to gain subsistence by the chase or by a pastoral life and it was necessary for them to till the soil and become agriculturalists. They formed into groups and cultivated certain areas of land in common, and from these communities the civilization which we now enjoy is directly descended. Here the source of personal law of the members of each family was the head of the family; but there was a general government over common interests. As the villages grew, rivalries, jealousies and conflicts arose between them, and for effective protection or for purposes of depredation it became necessary for the village to have a chief or leader. The inhabitants usually chose him from the family of the founder of the village. It was their world and he who had established it was the greatest man in the world to them. This chief having power given him, increased it and used it for his own aggrandizement. The people gave him land, but he took more, and presently he held all the land of the village and in consequence the people became his dependents. He allowed them to use the land on payment of tribute to him, and here was feudalism. Man had now become fixed in his abode and appurtenant to the soil and a new idea of nationality arose—that it was derived from the place of birth and residence and was not simply a question of kinship. Another great doctrine of nationality appeared, the law of citizenship, or nationality derived from the land, the *jus soli* of the common law, the dominant principle in Anglo-Saxon countries and one which has been accepted in a less degree by all civilized states.

Thus two great principles of nationality had developed—the one based upon the patriarchal state, the other upon the agricultural state. The rise of the latter did not destroy the feeling of filial devotion, for that is a law of nature; nor did it exclude the feeling of loyalty to a personal sovereign which was derived from the filial feeling; but it introduced a sentiment which drew its strength from the feeling of personal loyalty. When a man's country became a bounded part of the earth he personified it and showed his loyalty towards it by the word *patriotism* derived from the word father, and his tender devotion for it by giving it the feminine pronoun *she* or *her* when he spoke of it, as he did when he spoke of the mother who bore him or the wife of his bosom. Loyalty to the personal sovereign, supported by custom and the force of its origin, lingered in vigor for centuries after the new sentiment of territorial nationality had arisen; but as the current swept on it was inevitable that it should carry with it a realization that the welfare of men was rooted in the land and was not derived from the welfare or power of the individual. As the realization gradually came feudal tenures were gradually abolished.

The circumstance which gave the realization its greatest impulse was the discovery of America and its settlement by Europeans. Here many of the customs and traditions which had grown in slow process of development and which had clogged the advance of the race were absent. Here men started fair. Here the land was for him who could win it from the wilderness. Here there was no visible landlord, no overlord, no individual accustomed to receive personal tribute, visibly exercising power and demanding loyalty. In the new world fealty had passed from the man to the state.

III.

In advancing from the nomadic and the pastoral state to the agricultural the basis of patriotism passed from the individual to the land; and as population grew denser there came a closer association and interdependence of persons and groups, with consequent knowledge of their power. The association came

from a desire to satisfy their wants by exchanging products, and the wants increased the more they were supplied. The exchange led to a division of labor, as soon as the producer found that it was more profitable for him to exchange one thing or a few things for many things than to produce many things, and that his energy became more expert and effective when it was concentrated. As the wants of men multiplied they bred the ingenuity which was necessary to supply them. One invention followed another and great discoveries of material forces were made. Machinery entered into all manual employments and gave a practical illustration of the efficiency produced by a division of labor and co-operation. Men became like the parts of the machine, each working in an appointed place, the product depending upon all the parts working together. Thus specialization and concentration have come to rule in all occupations where they can be applied—not only in those which are manual but in professional as well. The bricklayer is not a stone mason, the latter-day doctor treats only one disease, and the professor teaches only one subject. Each man depends upon other men and no man stands alone. System rules everywhere, and it is undeniable that it has resulted in a great increase in the sum of efficiency. The mechanic working at one thing develops great expertness in it; the doctor who treats one disease treats it better than the doctor who treats a hundred diseases; if the scholar concentrates his mental energy on one branch of knowledge he masters it more completely than he can expect to do if he scatters his powers. Systematizing and specializing have also entered the field of philanthropy and charity with beneficent results. The uncertain and unequal relief of distress by individuals has been combined and now take the form of well-directed, regular ministration, lessening by certain process the suffering and distress of the unfortunate and dependent classes.

Invention and the search for new forces to serve production had their most momentous achievement in the application of steam power to locomotion and of electricity to the transmittal of intelligence. These have brought about a personal and mental intercourse which has extended the areas of co-operation almost indefinitely. An event in London, known to New York

immediately after it has occurred, must influence New York, and intelligence which both cities receive at once causes them to think together. Add to this the fact that many of the inhabitants of each city are brought into personal contact with each other, and it is not surprising that the influence of public opinion should pass national boundaries almost without noticing them.

These things are true, but it is not less true that there is another side to the picture and that the specialization, division of labor and concentration of effort have narrowed the individual's interests. He does one thing well, but he does only one thing; consequently he cares for only one thing and knows only one thing. This is a fact of common observation. We see how ignorant and how careless of current public affairs our scholars usually are; how little beyond the shop the shopkeeper knows; how profoundly ignorant of each other the rich and poor classes are in the great cities where rich and poor abound. We know that the good conversationalist, whose speech illustrates a broad personal knowledge, experience, sympathy and interest, diversified reading and thinking is a species now almost extinct, having been common enough in the days when distances were great and the individual's occupations were diversified.

The specialization has resulted in a great increase in the sum of the product; it has improved the condition of the masses of men; it is a great force in modern civilization; but the individual has lost much in consequence of it—or, as Tennyson expressed it, the individual has withered while the world has grown.

A consequence of the increasing specialization is that men have less and less occasion for association with those who are not in the same circle as themselves, and that their ignorance includes an ignorance of their fellow men who are not of their circle. One example will illustrate this. When George Mason was attending the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia in 1787 he wrote to his son on the plantation in Virginia, and after some observations on the work of the convention devoted the rest of the letter to the practical question of preparing the laths for a house he was building. Not only did he know how the laths should be made, but he knew the workmen who made

them. He employed them and paid them himself; he was in daily contact with them, and he and they understood each other. A man of George Mason's class at the present time would have his house built by an architect and a contractor. As it would be unnecessary for him to concern himself with anything but the completed edifice, he would know or care nothing about the building and the builders.

George Mason's benevolence was personal. The poor, unfortunate and distressed in his neighborhood appealed to him by word of mouth, received assistance from his own hand, and there was personal sympathy between them. A man of his class to-day receives the printed statement of an organized charity and sends his check by mail. Undoubtedly, systematized institutional charity relieves more suffering and is better for the unfortunate classes than the dependence on direct individual charity was; but has not the individual lost something by it? Has it not rendered it unnecessary for him to exercise certain noble functions of his nature and have not these functions become weakened in consequence? It may well be questioned whether George Mason's successor with all his efficiency is the equal of George Mason in the higher attributes of manhood.

IV.

While it is true that facilities of communication have stretched the range of co-operation to an extent almost illimitable it is equally true that the co-operation has taken naturally the form of combination of those whose interests are the same. The workingmen of Belgium call to the workingmen of Paterson and assist each other; the beef-packers of Chicago and the cattle-raisers of Argentina may form a partnership; the bankers have connecting branches which encircle the globe. It is impossible to prevent these combinations, and the competitive races will sweep away all artificial barriers which may be put in the path of the natural progress of their enterprise. The different interests which combine often are in competition with each other. Formerly the rivalry was to a great extent geographical, as a section of a country or a country represented an industrial

entity. Thus, when one country or one part of a country prospered, or tried to prosper, at the expense of another, conflict ensued. But with the wiping out of the boundaries of co-operation or combination the great game of competition has come to be played by interest against interest or class against class. It may be true that ultimately the welfare of one class depends upon the prosperity of all the other classes; but immediately it is often to the advantage of one class to oppress another class, and when such is the case it tries to inflict the oppression. Thus class rivalry becomes pitiless and bitter, and is rendered bitterer by the absence of personal association and sympathy of the individuals of the different classes. As the class separation becomes more sharply defined, class cohesion grows stronger and class consciousness increases. Thus it is that there has arisen, as the dominant sentiment of many men, what for want of a better term we must call class patriotism. The chief problems of civilized governments are undergoing a great change in consequence. While their international difficulties have not disappeared each government must confess that its greatest difficulty is to keep the peace between the classes within its borders, to prevent one class from preying upon another class; and at the same time to allow freedom of action to all. The current which swept from personal patriotism to territorial patriotism sets steadily towards the fealty and loyalty of class. Of course this trend carries with it an increasing consciousness of the power of groups and renders the individual more powerless; and nowhere is there any sign to encourage the belief that it will describe the circle and return to its starting point. The boundaries between nations may be swept away; even the devotion which men feel for their native land may disappear; but the history of no considerable part of the world will ever in the future be dependent upon the life, character and fortunes of a man.

